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and independence. It also said it was aware of the positive approach of and concrete steps taken on decolonization by the new Government of Portugal and commended it for the continued efforts it was making towards the full implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence.

The Special Committee went on to state that in its view the steps taken and being taken with respect to the African territories under Portuguese administration provided an important opportunity to expedite the process of decolonization in the remaining colonial territories in Africa, particularly in southern Africa.

The Special Committee urged all Governments and the specialized agencies and other institutions associated with the United Nations to intensify their efforts with a view to working out, as a matter of urgency, concrete programmes of assistance to the peoples concerned.

The Special Committee further expressed the hope that the necessary steps would be taken to enable the people of Timor to attain the goals set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the granting of independence.

Following the adoption of the consensus statement, the Special Committee, through its Chairman and other officers, decided to keep the situation in Angola and in Timor under continuous review. For further developments concerning these two territories, see sections below on THE QUESTION OF TIMOR and COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO ANGOLA.

Economic, financial and technical assistance to territories under Portuguese administration

In response to a request by the General Assembly on 17 December 1974,[2] the Secretary-General reported in 1975 to the Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, on action taken with regard to economic, financial and technical assistance to territories which were still under Portuguese administration. The Assembly had invited all Member States, as well as organizations of the United Nations development system, to take urgently all necessary measures to draw up, in consultation with the national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, concrete programmes and projects for economic, technical and financial assistance to be implemented as soon as those territories reached full independence. The Assembly further, in the case of Mozambique, invited all Member States and requested all organizations of the United Nations system speedily to assist the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* to cope with the immediate and pressing economic and social problems arising from the pre-independence situation of the country.

The report of the Secretary-General, dated 13 June 1975, and its addenda contained information on various assistance projects, including assistance provided by the United Nations itself, by various organizations of the United Nations development system and by individual Member States. With regard to Angola, the report noted that the United Nations continued to administer scholarships through the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (see pp. 173-75). The Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization had made a general offer of technical assistance on behalf of the United Nations to the Transitional Government of Angola at its investiture ceremony in December 1974. With regard to Cape Verde, the Secretary-General reported that he had appointed Sir Robert Jackson to solicit funds and co-ordinate United Nations assistance. The United Nations Office of Technical Co-operation prepared a preliminary assessment of possible technical assistance requirements for Mozambique.

The Secretary-General reported that assistance from organizations of the United Nations development system included projects undertaken by: the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; the United Nations Industrial Development Organization; the United Nations Development Programme; the United Nations Children's Fund; the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; the World Food Programme; the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; the International Civil Aviation Organization; and the World Intellectual Property Organization.

The report also summarized the replies of the following countries on assistance they had given, were giving or were considering giving to the territories under Portuguese administration: Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines and Sweden.

On 22 July 1975, the Economic and Social Council took note of the report by the Secretary-General on economic, financial and technical assistance to the territories still under Portuguese administration and decided to transmit it to the General Assembly at its regular 1975 session.

On 15 December 1975, at its thirtieth session, the General Assembly also, on the recommendation of its Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, took note of the report of the Secretary-General.

The question of Timor

In a series of letters addressed to the Secretary-General between 22 and 27 August 1975, the Gov-

[2] See Y.U.N., 1974, pp. 821-22, text of resolution 3340(XXIX).

ernment of Portugal drew attention to the deteriorating situation in Timor. On 22 August, the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs said that since 10 August armed conflicts between rival political factions had been spreading, resulting in death and injury among the local population. The involvement of almost all the native-born military personnel in the fighting made it impossible for the Portuguese authorities to control the situation. The atmosphere was one of near civil war, he said, and it had become impossible to guarantee the protection of nationals or foreigners or minimum security for the evacuation of those wishing to leave. The Portuguese Government had appealed to Australia and Indonesia and to the International Committee of the Red Cross for their support and assistance in humanitarian tasks.

In a letter dated 23 August, the Foreign Minister said that the situation had deteriorated to an even graver extent. A few hundred people had been evacuated from the port of Dili; boarding operations were then hampered when one of the political factions involved—the *Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente* (FRETILIN)—had interfered and bombarded the port area with mortars. Conditions in the capital had become chaotic; hundreds of inhabitants, including women and children, had been murdered. The Governor of Timor had asked for the immediate intervention of international forces from countries in the area. The Portuguese Government urged the Secretary-General to exert his influence with the international community to avoid further loss of life and make possible the resumption of evacuation operations.

On 25 August, the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that his Government had asked Australia and Indonesia to take measures permitting the resumption of humanitarian operations to evacuate refugees from the port of Dili. The Secretary-General was asked to exercise his good offices so that immediate international action might be taken.

In a letter on 27 August, the Portuguese Chargé d'affaires a.i. transmitted a message from the Governor of Timor to the effect that FRETILIN had refused to consider as a neutral zone the hospital in the area under its control and that military doctors were forced to leave because of the lack of security.

On 30 September, the Chargé d'affaires a.i. transmitted the text of a communiqué issued by the Portuguese National Decolonization Commission on 23 September regarding the decolonization process for Timor in the light of events there. The conclusion reached was that problems could be resolved only through political means, that is, through negotiations with all the political parties together or separately. Any solution that did not meet the wishes of the people of Timor was out of the question. The Commission reaffirmed the willingness of the Portuguese Government to continue to honour the historical and moral responsibilities of the Portuguese people for the people of Timor, as long as possibilities for leading the territory's decolonization process on the basis of political solutions were ensured.

By a letter dated 9 November, Portugal's Permanent Representative to the United Nations transmitted the text of a joint press statement concerning talks held at Rome, Italy, on 1 and 2 November 1975 between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. The statement said that the two Ministers had agreed, among other things, on the urgent need to restore peace and order in the territory, so as to enable its people freely to decide their own future, and had further agreed to continue to maintain close co-operation and consultation between their Governments on all aspects of and phases in the process of decolonization of Portuguese Timor.

By a letter dated 10 November, the Permanent Representative of Portgual transmitted to the Secretary-General a proposal to hold talks with representatives of the three political parties of Timor, namely, FRETILIN, the *Associação Popular Democrática Timorense* (APODETI) and the *Movimento Anti-Comunista* (MAC)—a coalition of the *União Democrática de Timor* (UDT) and two other parties, the Klibur Oan Timor Aswain (KOTA) and the *Partido Trabalhista*. The talks would be held in Australia between 15 and 20 November; pending agreement, the agenda would include the establishment and maintenance of a cease-fire, the establishment of a mechanism for Timor's transition to self-determination, and the return of the refugees who were in Indonesian Timor.

In a letter dated 28 November, the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Portuguese Mission informed the Secretary-General that FRETILIN had issued a declaration of its intention to proclaim unilaterally the independence of the territory of Timor. A communiqué forwarded the next day, 29 November, from the Portuguese National Decolonization Commission added that there were further, unconfirmed, reports that MAC and APODETI had also declared the independence of Timor, with immediate integration into Indonesia. According to the communiqué, Portugal, as the administering power, could not accept claims of independence or of integration into third States that were not in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Portuguese decolonization process—namely, that of ensuring respect for the wishes of the people for the exercise of their right to self-determination, taking into account the specific circumstances of each territory.

A declaration of the Government of Mozambique —forwarded to the Secretary-General on 2 December by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique—recognized the Democratic Republic of East Timor, established under the leadership of FRETILIN, and appealed to all peoples and countries to take action to put an end to Indonesian intervention, and to safeguard the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to independence and to the political and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

By a letter to the Secretary-General dated 4 December, the Permanent Representative of Indonesia transmitted a statement issued in Jakarta, Indonesia, on 4 December 1975 by the Indonesian Minister of Information on behalf of the Government of Indonesia, enclosing a joint proclamation by UDT, APODETI, KOTA and the *Partido Trabalhista* whereby, on behalf of the people of Portuguese Timor, those parties declared the independence and integration of the whole former colonial territory of Portuguese Timor with the Republic of Indonesia. In its statement, the Indonesian Government among other things regretted the unilateral action of FRETILIN; expressed understanding of the declaration by the four other political parties; and declared that the Indonesian Government would take the necessary measures to ensure the safety of its national territory, to defend the sovereignty of the State and to protect the population from external harassment.

Consideration by General Assembly

At its thirtieth session, which opened in September, 1975, the General Assembly referred the question of the territories under Portuguese administration to its Fourth Committee, which discussed the question at meetings held between 2 and 11 December and approved a resolution on the question of Timor.

Opening the discussion in the Fourth Committee on 2 December, the representative of Portugal reaffirmed his Government's responsibility as the administering power, bound to seek a peaceful and negotiated solution that would enable the population of Timor freely to exercise its right to self-determination. Neither Portugal nor the international community, he said, could accept *faits accomplis*, which only aggravated the conflict between the different parties. According to certain reports, highly sophisticated military equipment had been used recently in the fighting in Timor and his Government strongly repudiated and condemned any military intervention in the territory. Portugal believed that the political parties of Timor should be called upon immediately to participate in the talks proposed by the administering power to put an end to the political and armed struggle in the territory.

The spokesman for Australia said his Government had hoped that the decolonization of Timor would proceed in an orderly fashion and that Portugal would remain in control long enough for the political consciousness of the population to develop to the point where there was agreement on the territory's future. Australia did not recognize the unilateral declaration of independence of FRETILIN or regard the counter-declaration by UDT and APODETI as having legal force, and he added that none of the political parties—which had all emerged in less than 18 months—had established the right to speak for all the people of Timor. They should co-operate with Portugal to restore a decolonization programme in which their claims could be tested. Australia believed that talks between the political parties and Portugal offered the best hope of bringing the conflict to an end. The United Nations should put its weight behind the proposed talks.

According to the representative of China, the proclamation of the independence of East Timor by FRETILIN reflected the aspirations of the broad masses of the people there. Portugal, he said, should immediately terminate its colonial rule over the territory. He went on to say that following FRETILIN's declaration Indonesia had openly declared its intention to engage in armed intervention in East Timor. That called for the attention of all Members of the United Nations, he said.

The Indonesian representative said that geographical proximity and ethnic kinship were important reasons for his country's concern about peace and stability in Portuguese Timor, not only in Indonesia's interest but in the interest of South-East Asia as a whole. As a result of the fighting, Indonesia was confronted with serious difficulties: thousands of refugees had to be fed and cared for; people favouring integration were being terrorized and were demanding that Indonesia act to protect them; and incursions by armed bands into Indonesian territory had made it necessary for Indonesia to take appropriate action to prevent territorial violations and the harassment of its people.

The representative of Portugal subsequently informed the Fourth Committee—at a meeting on 8 December—of the contents of a Portuguese communiqué noting that, on 7 December, Indonesian naval, air and land forces had launched offensive actions against Portuguese Timor, and against the town of Dili, where naval bombardment had taken place and troops had been landed. This military aggression had abruptly altered the course of the decolonization process which should and could have been concluded peacefully. The communiqué noted that, following the ministerial

meetings in Rome in November, the attitude of Indonesia had revealed ambiguous intentions, reflected in the actual military support given to the pro-Indonesian political parties. Portugal had decided to sever diplomatic relations with Indonesia, to appeal to the United Nations—and particularly the Security Council—to obtain an immediate cessation of Indonesia's intervention, and to request United Nations intervention to obtain the release of 23 Portuguese soldiers.

The representative added that his Government had the previous day requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council so that Indonesia's military aggression might be terminated. He said that Portugal considered that the General Assembly for its part should take a clear stand on the decolonization of Timor and define appropriate means to complete that process successfully.

The representative of Indonesia said the events that had occurred were the result of the criminal negligence of the Portuguese colonial authorities. Indonesian intervention in Portuguese Timor was in response to a request from the parties which favoured integration with Indonesia and which had communicated to his Government their decision to be regarded as Indonesian nationals.

He went on to say that Indonesia had had to assist in re-establishing order as the authorities in the territory had acknowledged that they were powerless to oppose the wave of murders which had broken out in Timor in recent months and which threatened Indonesia's security. He emphasized that Indonesia's presence in the territory was not intended to impose a political solution on its people. It was for them to decide their future.

Several Fourth Committee Members, including Algeria, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, condemned the invasion of Timor by Indonesian forces.

Algeria said it regretted the resort to force by a third-world, non-aligned country. Guinea-Bissau's spokesman strongly condemned the use of force and noted that Indonesia was a State comprising several islands which naturally sought to form a true nation. It would not, he said, achieve that end through annexation. Mozambique reiterated that the proclamation of independence by FRETILIN reflected the aspirations of the people of Portuguese Timor to full self-determination; Indonesia, having seen its annexationist manœuvres frustrated by the determination of the people, had resorted to military aggression and armed occupation.

The representative of Sri Lanka wondered how the situation in Portuguese Timor could be a threat to Indonesia and doubted Indonesia's sincerity when it stated that it was prepared to respect the exercise by the people in the territory of their right to self-determination.

The representative of China said that Indonesia was employing false logic in an attempt to convince the Fourth Committee that its aggression was justified. The United Republic of Tanzania said that if nations, whether strong or weak, could decide when they should intervene in a neighbouring territory, small countries in particular would find themselves living in an atmosphere of constant fear.

Three draft resolutions were introduced during the Fourth Committee's discussion.

One of these, sponsored by Australia, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and Thailand, was introduced on 3 December and submitted in a revised form on 8 December, incorporating an amendment by India. By this revised text, the Assembly, after among other things taking note of the recent developments in Portuguese Timor, would:

(1) call upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

(2) call on the administering power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;

(3) appeal to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution through those talks, in the hope that they would bring an end to the strife in the territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by its people; and

(4) request Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and request that Committee to send a fact-finding mission to the territory as soon as possible in consultation with the political parties and the Government of Portugal.

The representative of Guinea-Bissau submitted amendments to the text with a view to having the General Assembly: condemn the policies of the Government of Indonesia for its illegal interference in the internal affairs of Portuguese Timor; demand that Indonesia desist from all acts of aggression against the territory and immediately withdraw its armed forces from Portuguese Timor; and draw the attention of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3, of

the Charter,[3] to the critical situation resulting from Indonesian aggression against Portuguese Timor.

Subsequently, both the revised draft resolution and the amendments proposed by Guinea-Bissau were withdrawn.

On 10 December, a draft resolution was put forward by India, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Thailand, by the operative paragraphs of which the General Assembly would:

(1) call upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence;

(2) take note that, according to the views expressed by the political parties in Portuguese Timor, the people were divided in their opinions in regard to their future political status;

(3) request the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration to send a fact-finding mission to the territory as soon as possible and to submit its recommendations concerning the procedures and arrangements for the free exercise of the right to self-determination of the people of Portuguese Timor; and

(4) call upon all States to refrain from any action which might prejudice the free exercise by the people of Portuguese Timor of that right.

The sponsors of this text did not press it to a vote.

A third draft resolution, sponsored by Algeria, Cuba, Guyana, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Trinidad and Tobago, was approved on 11 December by the Fourth Committee by a roll-call vote of 69 to 11, with 38 abstentions.

Before it approved the resolution, the Fourth Committee rejected a number of amendments to the text proposed by Mauritania, by the Philippines, by Saudi Arabia and by Thailand.

The text was adopted by the General Assembly on 12 December by a recorded vote of 72 to 10, with 43 abstentions, as resolution 3485(XXX), after a separate vote had been taken on an operative paragraph by which the Assembly strongly deplored the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor. The paragraph was adopted by a recorded vote of 59 to 11, with 55 abstentions.

By the preambular paragraphs of the resolution, the General Assembly among other things recognized the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Also by the preamble, the Assembly referred to the responsibility of the administering power to undertake all efforts to create conditions enabling the people of Portuguese Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with Charter principles and the Declaration, in an atmosphere of peace and order. All States should, in conformity with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter,[4] refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or national independence of any State, or from taking any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The Assembly also expressed its deep concern at the critical situation resulting from the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor.

By the operative part of the resolution, the General Assembly:

(1) called upon all States to respect the inalienable right of the people of Portuguese Timor to self-determination, freedom and independence and to determine their future political status in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence;

(2) called on the administering power to continue to make every effort to find a solution by peaceful means through talks between the Government of Portugal and the political parties representing the people of Portuguese Timor;

(3) appealed to all the parties in Portuguese Timor to respond positively to efforts to find a peaceful solution through talks between them and the Government of Portugal in the hope that such talks would bring an end to the strife in the territory and lead towards the orderly exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Portuguese Timor;

(4) strongly deplored the military intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor;

(5) called upon Indonesia to desist from further violation of the territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor and to withdraw without delay its armed forces from the territory, in order to enable the people of the territory freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence;

(6) drew the attention of the Security Council, in conformity with Article 11, paragraph 3, of the Charter, to the critical situation in the territory and recommended that the Council take urgent action to protect the territorial integrity of Portu-

[3] For text of Article 11 (3) of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.
[4] For text of Article 2 (4) of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

guese Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination;

(7) called upon all States to respect the unity and territorial integrity of Portuguese Timor; and

(8) requested Portugal to continue its co-operation with the Special Committee on the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence and requested the Special Committee to send a fact-finding mission to the territory as soon as possible, in consultation with the political parties in Portuguese Timor and the Government of Portugal.

(For text of resolution, see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

Consideration by Security Council (15-22 December 1975)

By a letter of 7 December 1975, the representative of Portugal informed the President of the Security Council that, early on that same day, naval, air and land forces of the Republic of Indonesia had launched an offensive action against Portuguese Timor with a naval bombardment of the town of Dili, and had landed troops there. In the new circumstances, the letter said, Portugal was unable to restore peace in Timor or to ensure that the decolonization process would be accomplished through peaceful and negotiated means, in accordance with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations, and it requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to bring an end to the military aggression by Indonesia and to establish conditions that would enable the decolonization process to continue.

The Security Council considered the question of Timor at five meetings held between 15 and 22 December. In addition to the representatives of Indonesia and Portugal, the Security Council invited the representatives of Australia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Malaysia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The Council also extended invitations—under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure [5]—to members of various political parties in the territory, as requested by Guinea-Bissau and by Indonesia.

The representative of Portugal reviewed developments leading to the unilateral declaration of independence by FRETILIN on 28 November 1975 and the unilateral declaration of integration with Indonesia by UDT and APODETI on the following day, and reiterated his Government's refusal to accept the unilateral declarations and its condemnation of any armed intervention in Timor. He asked the Security Council to condemn Indonesia for its aggression, to demand the immediate cessation of all acts of violence and intimidation against the people of Portuguese Timor, to demand the withdrawal of all occupation forces from the territory, and to attempt to restore conditions allowing free accession by the people of Timor to self-determination and independence.

The spokesman for Indonesia said that the conflict in Timor was a result of neglect by Portugal as administering power. He reiterated that Indonesia's presence in the territory was at the specific request of the parties in East Timor, but added that the Indonesian Government remained of the view that the ultimate political future of East Timor should be based upon the outcome of the exercise of the right to self-determination by all the people of East Timor. Any allegation that Indonesia was annexing the territory did not conform with the facts.

José Ramos Horta, who said he was speaking on behalf of the Central Committee of FRETILIN and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, said he did not deny the existence of a certain common cultural and ethnic origin of the peoples of East Timor and Indonesia, but he refused to consider it as sufficient reason for integration of the territory into Indonesia. He called on the Security Council to condemn Indonesia's aggression and to send a fact-finding mission to assess the situation in East Timor and enforce the decisions of the United Nations. The Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor would be willing to discuss with the Government of Indonesia the relationship between the two countries for the sake of peace, security and social progress.

Mário Viegas Carrascalão, representative of UDT, Guilhermo Maria Gonçalves, representative of APODETI, and José Martins, representative of KOTA, called for the integration of East Timor with Indonesia. The representative of UDT said that his party had concluded that independence was impossible and that it was in the interest of the people of Timor that it gain its independence through integration with the Indonesian Republic. As soon as better conditions for peace and order were achieved, the people of Timor would be granted their right to self-determination with the assistance and supervision of the United Nations. The representative of APODETI said that independence was in reality full of difficulties and doubts owing to the absence of adequate structures to help a young nation lacking in everything. His party had invited Indonesia to protect the lives and properties of all those who considered themselves to be

[5] Rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure reads as follows: "The Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence."

Indonesian. The representative of KOTA said that Portuguese negligence and failure to prevent the oppressive acts of FRETILIN and its moral and military support of that party had cast doubt on Portugal's commitment to promote an even-handed process of decolonization. Integration with Indonesia was the only available means of putting an end to the suffering of the people.

In the course of the discussion, many speakers expressed concern over the situation in East Timor. Guinea-Bissau and the United Republic of Tanzania, among others, blamed Portugal for that situation, charging that it had shirked its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order as administering power. They called for the withdrawal of Indonesia's forces from the territory as a prerequisite for restoring normal conditions and preparing it for the process of decolonization.

The representative of Malaysia said that Indonesian intervention had occurred after nearly four months of lawlessness and bloody fighting, and after futile attempts by the administering power to find a solution.

The spokesman for China said that Indonesia's act of aggression constituted a gross violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and had therefore to be condemned by the Security Council. All invading Indonesian troops had to be withdrawn from the territory, he said; the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of East Timor had to be respected by all States. As East Timor had already become independent, he added, its internal affairs—including negotiations between the various groups—should be settled by the people of East Timor themselves without intervention by foreign forces.

The USSR representative said his Government was opposed to outside intervention in the affairs of East Timor. He and many other representatives felt that the people of East Timor should be granted normal conditions so that they might exercise their right to self-determination. Regarding the action that the United Nations might take to solve the problem in East Timor, he called attention to the General Assembly's resolution (3485 (XXX)) which had been adopted on 12 December 1975, and said that his Government would support any constructive measures by the Council aimed at restoring a normal situation in the area and ensuring peace there.

The representative of Australia said that a United Nations presence was clearly required to assist with arrangements for self-determination. The best course might be for the Secretary-General to be asked to appoint a special representative who could consult with the parties principally concerned, both in New York and on the spot, and who could recommend further action.

The representative of Portugal, in a further statement, said that his country was prepared to send forces to maintain order for the purpose of concluding the process of decolonization. However, this should be preceded by the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor. Furthermore, the countries of the region had to guarantee that Portugal would be assisted in its task of restoring normal conditions to the territory.

The representative of Indonesia rejected the accusation that Indonesia had committed an act of military aggression and reiterated that his country's presence in East Timor was at the specific request of the parties, as reaffirmed by the statements of their representatives in the Council. It was true that a territory like East Timor should not be a threat to Indonesia's security, if the situation there was peaceful; however, many would agree that a territory torn by bloody conflicts constituted a threat because it could easily become an arena of confrontation between interests of big military powers outside the region.

At its meeting on 22 December, the Council had before it a draft resolution which had emerged from consultations among the members. It adopted the text unanimously as resolution 384(1975).

By the preambular part of the text, the Council among other things expressed its grave concern at the deterioration of the situation in East Timor and at the loss of life. It deplored the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor and expressed regret that Portugal had not discharged fully its responsibilities as administering power in the territory under Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.[6]

By the operative part of the text, the Council:

(1) called on all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination in accordance with the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

(2) called on Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the territory;

(3) called on Portugal to co-operate fully with the United Nations so as to enable the people of East Timor to exercise freely their right to self-determination;

(4) urged all States and other parties concerned to co-operate fully with United Nations efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the situation and to facilitate the decolonization of the territory;

(5) requested the Secretary-General to send urgently a special representative to East Timor to make an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and to establish contact with all the parties in the

[6] For text of Chapter XI of the Charter, see APPENDIX II.

territory and all States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of this resolution;

(6) further requested the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of this resolution and, taking into account the report of his special representative, to submit recommendations to the Security Council as soon as possible; and

(7) decided to remain seized of the situation.

(For text of resolution 384(1975), see DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES below.)

By a letter dated 22 December 1975, the representative of Indonesia transmitted to the Secretary-General the text of a "Declaration of the Establishment of a Provisional Government of the Territory of East Timor," which had been promulgated in Dili on 17 December by four political parties in the territory: namely, APODETI, UDT, KOTA and the *Partido Trabalhista*.

On 24 December, the representative of Portugal, referring to the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 22 December, reaffirmed to the Secretary-General the readiness of the Portuguese Government to extend its full co-operation to the United Nations and its willingness to provide assistance to the special representative of the Secretary-General.

On 29 December, the Secretary-General, in response to the request of the Security Council, appointed Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, Switzerland, as his Special Representative to make an on-the-spot assessment of the situation in East Timor and to establish contact with all the parties in the territory and all the States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of the Council's resolution.

Communications relating to Angola

On 20 January 1975, the representative of Portugal transmitted to the United Nations Secretary-General the text of an agreement negotiated at Alvor, Portugal, from 10 to 15 January 1975, between Portugal and the three liberation movements of Angola—the *Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola* (FNLA), the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) and the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA)—by which Portugal recognized these liberation movements as the sole and legitimate representatives of the people of Angola.

According to the agreement, Angola constituted a single indivisible entity within its current geographical and political boundaries, including Cabinda. Until the independence of Angola, to be proclaimed on 11 November 1975, all power was to be exercised by a High Commissioner, appointed by the President of Portugal, and by a Transitional Government to be inaugurated on 31 January 1975 and to be presided over by a Presidential Council of three members—one from each liberation movement. The members of the transitional cabinet were to be appointed, in equal proportion, by the three liberation movements and the President of Portugal.

By the terms of the agreement, Portugal and the three liberation movements formalized the general cease-fire which was being observed throughout the territory. Also provided for was a National Defence Commission responsible for national defence, for peace, safety and public order, and for promoting the progressive integration of the armed forces of the three liberation movements. The Portuguese armed forces were to be withdrawn from the territory by 29 February 1976.

On 21 August, the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations brought to the attention of the Secretary-General a letter from the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs informing him that the current situation in Angola was causing serious apprehension to the Portuguese Government. The Alvor agreement—which established the political framework for the transition to independence—had been subjected to repeated violations by the liberation movements, which were incapable of overcoming their differences. Those differences, which had led to an intense political confrontation and an armed conflict that was spreading throughout the territory, had necessitated the temporary suspension of the agreement. The Portuguese Government had sought to maintain a policy of strict active neutrality, defending the territorial integrity of Angola against separatism and outside interference. The situation had led to a breakdown of government machinery and administrative structures and to economic and financial deterioration, bringing the territory almost to the brink of collapse. The Portuguese Government, concerned with the protection of the Angolan people, had been compelled to adopt emergency measures, declaring a state of siege with total or partial suspension of constitutional guarantees. A plan of assistance was also under way for the evacuation of all those who wished to leave the territory. Under these conditions, the Portuguese Government hoped to receive from the United Nations continued and reinforced support.

Also on 21 August, the Portuguese Foreign Minister addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council expressing confidence that it would be recognized that the emergency measures taken in Angola had been prompted by an extremely grave crisis, the origins of which could not be attributed to the Portuguese authorities. A great effort, he added, was being made to avoid aggrava-